

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

S E C R E T OSLO 514

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PO PU NO NL

SUBJECT: NORWEGIAN INTEREST IN PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORIES

REFS: (A) STATE 16339 (B) HELSINKI 202 (C) OSLO 268 (D) PARIS 1222

(E) DAR ES SALAAM 275 (F) DAR ES SALAAM 235

BEGIN SUMMARY. NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND FULLY APPRECIATES THE CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED ON US BY THE AZORES NEGOTIATIONS, THOUGH HE HOPES WE WILL EVENTUALLY BE ABLE TO ASSIST IN A JOINT APPEAL TO THE PORTUGUESE FOR A TRANSITIONAL APPROACH TO SELF-DETERMINATION. FRYDENLUND EXPECTS PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES TO BE A MAJOR AGENDA ITEM AT THE APRIL NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS'

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MEETING. ALTHOUGH HE HAS MISGIVINGS ABOUT CONTINUING TO PRESS THE

PORTUGUESE CASE IN NATO COUNCILS, HE DID NOT PREDICT HOW THE NORDICS WOULD RESPOND TO THE DUTCH PROPOSAL FOR WORKING ON PORTUGAL VIA THE US, THE UK, AND FRANCE. NORWAY'S ROLE IN THE CAMPAIGN TO BRING NATIONAL LIBERATION GROUPS INTO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON LAWS OF WAR HAS LEFT FRYDENLUND ON THE DEFENSIVE BUT WITH NO IDEAS ON HOW TO SALVAGE THE SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

1. I CONVEYED THE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSE CONCERNING THE SENEGALESE PLAN FOR FRESH APPROACHES TO PORTUGAL (REF A) TO FRYDENLUND ON FEBRUARY 2. HE SAID HE HOPES THE US WILL EVENTUALLY BE ABLE TO JOIN IN A NEW INITIATIVE AIMED AT PRODUCING SOME MOVEMENT ON THE PART OF THE PORTUGUESE, BUT HE FULLY UNDERSTANDS OUR POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE AZORES. HE SAID THAT HE HIMSELF IS HAVING INCREASING DOUBTS ABOUT THE UTILITY OF USING NATO AS A FORUM FOR BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE PORTUGUESE. (IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT FRYDENLUND DID NOT, IN FACT, MENTION PORTUGAL AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL.)

2. THE DUTCH, MEANWHILE, ARE WORKING ACTIVELY ON THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A NEW APPROACH TO THE PORTUGUESE. NETHERLANDS STATE SECRETARY KOOYMANS, WHOSE HELSINKI TALKS ARE REPORTED IN REF B, CAME TO OSLO JANUARY 30 IN THE COURSE OF HIS SCANDINAVIAN CONSULTATIONS. FRYDENLUND SAID THE DUTCH ARE HOPING TO HAVE THE NORDICS JOIN IN A PRESSURE CAMPAIGN ON THE US, UK, AND FRANCE (AND POSSIBLY THE FRG, THOUGH THAT IS NOT YET DECIDED), SO THAT WE WILL IN TURN BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON PORTUGAL. THE NORWEGIANS HAVE NOT YET GIVEN A COMMITMENT TO THE DUTCH, PENDING NORDIC CONSULTATIONS; HE THINKS, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS NO WAY TO AVOID PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES AS A MAJOR TOPIC OF DISCUSSION AT THE NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN APRIL AND THAT, THEREAFTER, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT NOT TO TAKE STRONG POSITIONS IN NEXT FALL'S UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. (COMMENT: WE OF COURSE ALREADY ARE BLAMED BY SOME FOR PORTUGAL'S INTRANSIGENCE, BUT THERE IS OBVIOUS DANGER THAT THE NETHERLANDS PLAN, AS FRYDENLUND DESCRIBES IT, WILL EVEN MORE STRONGLY DIRECT THE FOCUS ON US, ALONG WITH THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH, RATHER THAN ON THE PORTUGUESE. IF WE HOPE TO FORESTALL SUCH A DEVELOPMENT, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO TRY TO REASON WITH THE NORDICS BEFORE THEIR APRIL CONSULTATION. IF IT WERE FEASIBLE TO GET A CLEARER IDEA FROM THE DUTCH THEMSELVES OF WHAT IT IS THEY ARE PROPOSING, THIS MIGHT BE HELPFUL FOR

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DEVELOPING A LINE OF ARGUMENT TO BE USED WITH THEM AND WITH THE NORDICS.)

3. PER REF A, I ASKED WHETHER THE NORWEGIANS HAVE MADE PARALLEL APPROACHES TO THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH. FRYDENLUND SAID THEY HAVE NOT HAD DISCUSSIONS IN OSLO BUT THAT WHILE IN STRASBOURG LAST WEEK HE EXCHANGED VIEWS WITH BAKER OF THE UK AND WITH UNNAMED FRENCH OFFICIALS. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT THE FRENCH HAD BRIEFED

THE NORWEGIANS IN PARIS ON THE PATRICIO VISIT. FROM HIS DESCRIPTION AND ONE GIVEN THE DCM EARLIER IN THE WEEK BY POLITICAL DIRECTOR GENERAL VIBE, IT APPEARS THE NORWEGIANS GOT THE SAME BRIEFING WE DID (REF D), INCLUDING THE STATEMENT THAT THE FRENCH WOULD ABSTAIN IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE ADMISSION OF GUINEA-BISSAU TO THE UN. FOR THE NORWEGIANS, HOWEVER, THE FRENCH MANAGED TO ADD A DIG AT THE US BY COMMENTING THAT, BECAUSE PORTUGAL KNOWS THE US WILL VETO ANY SUCH RESOLUTION, IT WILL NOT FEEL COMPELLED TO TAKE ANY MEASURES TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN THE GUINEA-BISSAU SITUATION.

4. FRYDENLUND ALSO BROUGHT UP THE GENEVAL DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE ON LAWS OF WAR AND SAID THAT, WHILE HE HAS NOT YET HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO LOOK INTO THE BACKGROUND FULLY, HE IS DISTURBED THAT THE PRESENT IMPASSE OVER THE ROLE OF LIBERATION GROUPS AT THE CONFERENCE MAY IN PART STEM FROM THE ACTIVISM OF ONE OF HIS OFFICIALS (REF C AND PREVIOUS). HE IS VERY MUCH AWARE OF OUR STRONG VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT AND SAID THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH HAVE ALSO RAISED IT WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. THE DIFFICULTY, HE SAID, IS THAT THERE IS NOW WAY OF UNDOING WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE, AND HE HAS NO CLEAR IDEA OF WHERE TO GO FROM HERE. I REITERATED OUR CONCERNS BOTH FOR THE UNHELPFUL ROLE OF LONGVA OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND FOR THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE OF ADMITTING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AS OBSERVERS. I LET THE ISSUE REST THERE FOR THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, PENDING FURTHER GUIDANCE ON THE US POSITION IN THE LIGHT OF THE REJECTION OF THE SWISS COMPROMISE PROPOSAL BY THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES (REFS E AND F). (COMMENT: FRYDENLUND IS VERY MUCH ON THE DEFENSIVE ON THIS ONE. NEVERTHELESS, THE NORWEGIANS ARE SO FAR COMMITTED ON THE PORTUGUESE ISSUE IN GENERAL AND ON WORKING TO ENHANCE THE STATUS OF THE LIBERATION GROUPS IN PARTICULAR THAT IT IS MOST UNLIKELY THAT WE CAN CONVERT THIS DEFENSIVENESS INTO SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION IF THE ISSUE IS CARRIED OVER TO THE FLOOR OF THE CONFERENCE ITSELF. EVEN AN ABSTENTION

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SEEMS TOO MUCH TO HOPE FOR FROM THE NORWEGIANS IF THE VIEWS OF UNDER SECRETARY ARNESEN, AS REPORTED IN REF C, PREVAIL.) BYRNE

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